
The Third Edition
OF A
PROPOSAL
FOR A

Tax upon the Funds:

WITH

Some Directions to the Freeholders
concerning the Choice of Members
for the next Parliament.

Price 3 d. or 20 s. a Hundred.

The Third Edition

OF A

POPULAR

TRIAL

UPON THE LAW

WITH

EXPLANATIONS TO THE

QUESTIONS OF THE

PARLIAMENT

THE
STATE and CONDITION
OF OUR ^{1028. h. 1}
TAXES,
CONSIDERED;
OR, A
PROPOSAL
FOR A
TAX upon *FUNDS*:

Shewing,
The Justice, Usefulness, and Necessity,
of such a TAX, in respect to our
Trading and Landed Interest, and
especially if we engage in a new WAR.
With some Directions to the Freeholders
of *Great Britain*, concerning the Choice
of the next Parliament.

By a FREEHOLDER.

The Third Edition.

*Hinc Usura vorax, avidumque in tempore Fœnus
Hinc Concussa fides & multis Utile Bellum. Lucan.*

LONDON: Printed for John Morphew, near
Stationers-Hall, 1714.

THE
STANDARD CONDITION
OF OUR
TAXES
CONSIDERED
ON A
PROPOSAL
FOR A
NEW

The House of Commons, and the
House of Lords, in the year
1791, passed a Resolution, that
a Committee should be appointed
to inquire into the state of the
taxes, and to report thereon to
the House of Commons, in the
next Session of Parliament.
The Committee, accordingly, was
appointed, and consisted of
Messrs. Burke, Fox, and
Pitt, who, in the year 1792,
presented to the House of
Commons, a Report, in which
they stated, that the taxes
then in force, were such, as
to be a great burthen to the
people, and that it was
necessary, that the taxes
should be reduced, in order
to relieve the people, and to
bring the revenue to a
moderate and steady state.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE any just Observations can be made upon the two Heads which we are now to consider, it is absolutely necessary to let the Reader a little into the general Knowledge of the State of the Commerce between *England* and *France*, as it now stands; and this cannot be done so as to give him a clear Understanding in the reading either the Treaty it self, or these Considerations, without letting him know what the Meaning of the Tariff of 1664, and the Tariff of 1699, so often now to be made mention of is, and as far as will consist with the Brevity of this Tract, to give an Abridgement of those Tariffs, as they concern the present Treaty of Commerce. The Necessity of understanding these Things perfectly before we can make any Judgment of the Matter in hand, is such, that it seems the most natural Introduction that could possibly be made to the Work, and without which, however the Book is written in *English*, it would be an unknown Tongue to most of the Readers, and might as well have been written in *Arabick*, or any other Language or Character which no body could understand.

A TARIFF in the French, as it may best be expounded to us in a Trading-Dialect, is no more or less than a *Book of Rates*, establishing the Duties and Customs of Goods exported and imported from and to the Kingdom of *France*: It is true, if you speak literally, it is the Acts of publick Authority, from whence the Books of Rates are collected, as our *Books of Rates* are, so many Abstracts of the Acts of Parliament, by which those Rates are establish'd; and therefore, as our Laws of Customs are called Acts of Parliament, so those in *France* are called *Edits du Roy, Declaration du Roy, Ordonnance du Roy, Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy*, and the like; and the Collection of them into a Body is call'd in *French Recueil des Tarifs, &c.* and *Table de Tarifs Arrests & Reglemens des Droits de Entree & Sortie, &c.* that is in *English* a *Book of Rates*, and nothing else.

It is therefore a Vulgar Error to think these Tariffs are Treaties between *France* and other Nations, and to say the Tariff between *France* and *Holland*, or between *France* and *England, &c.* is to talk Nonsense, or which is much the same thing, to say nothing to the Purpose, with this Exception only, That in several Treaties of Commerce there have been Agreements made, and Articles enter'd into, especially between *France* and the States-General, by which the Duties of Merchandises have been adjusted respectively; and in these Treaties the Tariffs in *France*, formerly made, have been made the Foundation, with such particular Additions, respecting the Duties of such or such Goods, about which they have

have then treated and made any Alteration. Of this we have an Example ; after the Treaty of *Reswick*, when, by a separate Treaty of Trade, tho' in former Cases the Duties in general were adjusted, yet new Agreements were made for sundry things, the rest being refer'd to the Tariffs of other Years, and this was called indeed *Tarif Arreste Entre la France & la Hollande* : This was the 8th of December 1699.

It is necessary farther, as an Introduction to this Discourse, to observe that the general Tariffs, or Book of Rates, which have been made and are refer'd to in the present Treaties stand thus : That of 1664 was the most general, in which the *English* Merchandises and Manufactures paid, upon their Importation into *France*, very moderate Duties ; and particularly of our Woollen Manufactures : Thus,

Fine <i>English</i> Cloth, the Piece qt.	25 Ells, 40 Livres.
Half Cloths, or Dozens,	16 Livres.
Stockens Worsted,	per Dozen. 3 10 Sols.
Serges, the Piece qt.	26 Ells, 6 Livres.
Cloth Serges,	15 Ells, 10 Livres.
Scotch Serges and Shaloons,	25 Ells, 2 Livres.

And the like of other Merchandises. These Duties were enlarg'd in the Year 1699, and by an *Arrest du Conseil de Estat*, 6. Sept. 1701, an entire Prohibition of our Woollen Manufactures was publish'd, and new extravagant Duties laid upon those which were allow'd to be enter'd.

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Serges, the Piece qt.	20 Ells, 8 Livres.
Cloth Serges,	15 Ells, 10 Livres.
Scotch Serges and Shaloons,	25 Ells, 2 Livres.

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These Things being necessary to premise by way of Introduction on the Side of the *French*, it may suffice on the other Part to observe, that by sundry Acts of Parliament made on several Occasions, and with various Prospects in *England*, several additional Duties, and some Prohibitions have been laid upon and against the Goods and Merchandises of the Growth of *France*, besides the general Prohibition, or final Stop, of Intercourse, or Commerce between the two Nations, occasion'd by the Accident of the War.

As to particular Prohibitions, the chief are those first against Alamodes and Lustrings, in favour of the Company, who have erected the Manufactures of that kind here, and who, if those Prohibitions had not been made could not have succeeded.

Also, that for a Prohibition of all wrought Silks, for the Encouragement of the Broad-Weavers in *England*, and without which they must have been reduc'd, if not quite ruin'd.

The high additional Duties were such as principally respect the Wines and Brandies imported hither from *France*, which by the several Acts of Parliament establishing those Duties amount at this time as follows :

Wine per Ton 54 *l*.
Brandy per Gallon 6 *s*. 8 *d*.

These Duties being so great as to be equal almost to a Prohibition, stand as an Equivalent to the Impositions which the *French* have laid upon ours, and is the Foundation of the present Debate,

Thus

T H E
STATE and CONDITION
O F O U R
T A X E S,
CONSIDER'D.

SINCE the coming over of the *King*, the fitting out of a Fleet for that Purpose, the Deficient Funds, the flagrant Rumour of a *New War*, with several other Circumstances, will necessarily draw a farther Charge upon the Nation, it lies upon us to consider by what Methods any New Taxes can be levied without burdening our Selves, and to be very Cautious what Persons we make Choice of to Represent us in the ensuing Parliament. The *King* has promised to make us a *flourishing and happy People*; his Regard for our Welfare and Prosperity seems to anticipate all other Considerations; and if we make a right Use of this Election, we need not doubt his *Majesty's* Concurrence with his Parliament.

But before I proceed, it may not be improper to consider the State of the Nation, as it now is, or has been for some Years ; the Grievances and Oppressions we have laboured under, and the Sources and Reasons that occasioned them ; to obviate, if possible, the like Miscarriages for the future, and that since, according to Tenor of the *English* Proverb, We have been *once Burnt*, to prevent our falling a second time *into the Fire*.

When we entered into the last War, we had little or no Time to recover our Selves from the Calamities a former War had brought upon us, and such a Severe one too, as was never known in our own, and scarcely perhaps in any other Age or Country. Our *Exchequer* was empty, and our Nation mortgaged for several Years to come, to defray the Expences of the War, our Landed and Trading Interest impoverished by an *ill Peace* ; and what was the worst of all, we had those at Home as ready to Dispute the *Queen's Prerogative*, as her Enemies to Dispute her Title : It must be owned we were a brave and hardy People, to undertake a War under such Circumstances, and Posterity perhaps may think our Courage exceeded our Conduct in some Measure.

I shall not insist at present on the Conduct of the War in respect to our Allies ; what Proportion we bore, how the Stipulations were performed on their Part, and in what Manner we harraſs'd the Enemy in *Spain* and the *West Indies* ; as also how beneficial a Land War must necessarily be to our Maritime and Naval Power, the Life of our Trade and our Commerce ; These are what are obvious to every one, and what other Authors have largely treated on ; It is sufficient
to

to my present Subject, that we expended above Threescore Millions, and so far Exhausted our Blood and Treasure, that any Peace was become Necessary; and if we had carried on the War another Year or two, we had brought our Selves below the Slavery of *Wooden Shoes*, or the most dismal Consequences of Arbitrary Power.

But it is not only because through Weakness, Inadvertency, or something Worse, we have drawn upon our Selves such Incumbrances, which we or our Forefathers never knew, and which we and our Posterity may be never able to Discharge, that is our present Grievance; but the Inequality of the Taxes, and the Way of raising them, which unless Redressed, may be attended with Inconveniencies of such a Nature, as I am afraid to mention.

This is what Sir *Charles Sidley* justly complained of even in the Infancy of the War: “ It is a
 “ sad Reflection, *says he, in the House of Commons,*
 “ that some Men should wallow in Wealth and
 “ Places, whilst others Pay away in Taxes the
 “ fourth Part of their Revenue, for the Support
 “ of the same Government. We are not upon
 “ equal Terms for his *Majesty's* Service, the
 “ Courtiers and Great Officers Charge as it were
 “ in Armour, they feel not their Taxes by Reason of their Places, while the Country Gentlemen are Shot through and through by them. His *Majesty* sees nothing but Coaches
 “ and Six Horses, and great Tables, and therefore cannot imagine the Want and Misery of
 “ the rest of his Subjects.

That

That Taxes are necessary, and ought to be raised on just Occasions for the Good of a Community, is what every One who has any Notion of Government, must allow ; but on the other hand, that they ought to be laid equally on all People in Proportion to their Wealth and their Estates, is highly Just and Reasonable. It is Matter of Complaint, That the Land Tax it self is very unequally divided, but take the Landed Interest in the whole, never any Part of a Community were dealt with so Unjustly : Those who have had their Education at Court, or among the Funds, can never conceive the Streights the Country Gentlemen were put to, by the Scarcity of Money, and the Poverty of their Tenants ; and it is enough to create an Uneasiness among them to be used in such a manner, when they have shown at least the same Loyalty and Obedience to their Sovereign, the same Deference and Inclination to the *House of Hanover*, the same Antipathy to Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, and the same Zeal for their Religion and Liberties as any of their Fellow Subjects. The Landed Man in paying willingly his Quota, could have no other View than our Religion and Liberties, and the Succession in the *House of Hanover* ; but as to those who raised vast Estates out of the Funds by the Exorbitant Interest of their Money, their Hopes undoubtedly were founded upon other Ends than the Common Cause, or *Protestant Succession* ; and notwithstanding their Pretences, their own private Interest and Advantage was the Zenith of their Wishes.

Can we believe that a *Jew* or a *Papist* can declare themselves for the *Protestant Succession*, or a *New War*, as some of them have done, on any other Grounds than their own Interest? Or, is it possible to suppose, that the Settlement of the Protestant Religion is their only Aim, and agreeable to their Wishes? Let the Landed and the Monied Interest be Taxed equally, and then let us see who are the Men who are for carrying on the War, for humbling of *France*, for enlarging our Trade, and for Supporting his Majesty and his Government: Let us both Contribute equally, and it will soon appear, who are the Friends, and who the Enemies, to our present Settlement, the Government will be soon convinced who are the *Jacobites* and *High Flyers*.

If ever there is a Necessity for a Naval War, we are willing to pay our Four Shillings in the Pound upon the Land; and we Challenge the Monied Interest, those pretended Loyalists and Patriots to do the same. The same Men who for Twenty Years together have paid the Fifth Part of their Estates for the Security of our Constitution, are unquestionably prepared to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in its Defence; But what have those who Style themselves their only Friends contributed? What is it they have done for the *House of Hanover*? For I will be bold to say, that it is owing only to the Gentlemen of the Landed Interest, whom they have branded with all the Names of Infamy and Scandal; that his present Majesty is upon the Throne, and the Pretender incapable of giving us the least Disquiet. Nay, to that Degree has the Land contributed toward supplying the Exi-

gences of our Affairs, that was the whole Revenue of the Funds for Seven Years to come set apart to defray the Expences of another War, and the Land indemnified from all Taxes, I much question, whether at the End of those Seven Years, the Monied Interest would have any Reason of Complaint : They have paid nothing at present, but instead of that, have made a Prey of the Necessities of the People ; and certainly it is but highly Reasonable, if there should be any further Occasion of Expence, and we should engage in another War, that they should furnish their *Quota* in an equal at least, if not in a greater Proportion, than their Neighbours. This would be but the highest Act of Justice, it would be but Restoring to the Nation what they have taken from them, it would be but Lending them their own, and spending a Part in the Service of the Government, when the whole was got by their Favour and Connivance.

Every Thing that is capable of raising Money is Taxed as far it will bear ; Coals, Candles, Soap, and Leather, pay a Duty for several Years to come, almost to the entire Destruction of the Poor ; the Window Tax is injurious to the middle Sort ; the Customs to the Merchants ; and the Land and Malt Tax, with all the rest, to the Gentlemen and Freeholders.

If a General Excise, and any other Provision for an equal Tax may be feasible, no Man shall more readily Embrace it than my self ; but until some such Project can be found, I shall insist on the Proposal I have made, and I'll engage to shew, that it will be so far from being

ing Prejudicial to the Trade of the Nation, that 'tis the only way to Encourage and Support it.

The Decay of Trade, and the Ruin of the Merchants, have not been occasioned so much by the Chances and Misfortunes that have befallen them from their Enemies at Sea, as from their turning their Cash into a new Channel, and the Encouragement given them by the Government to do it. During the late War, few or no Convoys were allowed the *Merchant - Men*, in order to divert them from venturing Abroad, and that the Owners might the more readily throw their Money into the Funds; for it is Natural to suppose, That any Man would sooner employ his Fortune, where he could make Twenty or Thirty *per Cent.* of it with Safety, than expose it to the Dangers of the Sea, or the Vigilance of Privateers. From hence it is we may Date the Ruin of our Trade; for by these Means our Merchants left their Correspondents by Degrees to other Nations, who took hold of the Advantage, till at length we lost them entirely, and instead of the most flourishing Nation in the World, our Trade was in Money; we were become Inconsiderable Abroad, and a Nation of Stock-Jobbers at Home. And from hence it is, I mean, from this Proposal, that we may recover it again; when the *Merchant* shall find that his Purse and his Coffers are sooner filled by his Business, than by Stock-Jobbing, he will readily pursue it, and Trade as readily recover from its Consumption. Give but the least Discouragement to Stock-Jobbing, and the Trading and Landed Part, which I may call the whole

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Nation

Nation without Impropriety, will soon be sensible of their *happy and flourishing Condition*.

Those Persons who are concerned in the Stocks, if they consider rightly, will never Object to such a Tax ; the Trader will feel the good Effects it has upon the *Exchange*, and the Country Gentlemen the Improvement of his Estate ; and if there are any who are concerned neither in Trade, nor Land, they should reflect on the happy Influence it will have upon the Stocks themselves, and the Security it will afford them.

Four Shillings in the Pound upon the Funds will amount to about Six hundred thousand Pound *per Annum*, or thereabouts, to the Government ; so that whatever Changes happen, the Government will always be obliged to Support them, if it was only for the Sake of their Revenue. If we should have no more Occasion for Supplies, those whose Fortunes are in the Funds, will enjoy the Benefit, together with the whole Nation ; but if through the Iniquity of the Times, we should be forced to bring a farther Charge upon our Selves, by these Means the Funds will be upon the same Establishment with the Land, and because the Government will receive from each of them a Fifth Part of their Income, it will be equally their Interest to maintain them.

It is the common Cry indeed, That touch the Stocks, and People will never lend a Penny for the future ; and it had been happy for the Nation if they never had, and Posterity had blessed us for it ; but this common Cry can never row into any Argument, or have any Force
with

with the *Legislature*, for the Annual Income of our Revenue, suppose we should unfortunately be engaged in another War, would by this Proposal, without running us into Debt, be sufficient for the Payment of our Forces. The Malt Tax, and Four Shillings upon Land, and upon the Funds, will arise to near Three Millions Annually, which will Equip us a Fleet that shall be a Match for all the Fleets of *Europe* put together ; and no Man, I believe, who is acquainted with the Situation of our Island, can ever think a Land War for our Advantage, especially after such repeated Instances of its Effects.

The Author of the Preface to my Lord *Clarendon's* History, very well observes upon this Head : “ Well may other Princes and States, “ *says he*, whose Situation requires it for their “ own Security, find it their Interest, for the “ Preservation of their Credit and Reputation “ among their Neighbours, to keep in Pay great “ Numbers of Land Forces, in which they are “ Vying with one another, and Boasting who “ can Raise his Thousands, and who his Ten “ Thousands ; but they will be found but *Young* “ Statesmen for our Government, who can think “ it adviseable, That the Strength of this “ Island should be measured by Proportions so “ unsuitable to its true Glory and Greatness.” And again, *continues he*, to reflect a little on the Circumstances of our own Nation, “ That whereas the Fleet of *England* has been “ Renowned through so many Ages for the “ Honour and Security of this Kingdom, in “ these

“ these latter Days, by an unaccountable Im-
 “ providence our Care has been more Industri-
 “ ously applied to the Raising great Numbers
 “ of Land Forces, than in Maintaining and
 “ Supporting the Glorious Ancient Bulwarks of
 “ our Country; and when we have to do with
 “ an Enemy whom we so far excel in Strength
 “ at Sea, that with a little more than ordinary
 “ Application, we might hope to Restrain his
 “ *Exorbitant Power* by our Naval Expeditions,
 “ we have imployed our greatest Industry, and
 “ vast Expence, to attack him by Land, in that
 “ Part, where, by the Strength of his nume-
 “ rous Garrisons, he must be at least for many
 “ Years invulnerable.”

Indeed, if our Revenue had been well Hus-
 banded, when we first engaged against *France*,
 I believe we might have carried on the War suc-
 cessfully, and without borrowing upon Loans;
 But when we had once plunged our Selves, our
 Debts increased on us, together with the Cor-
 ruptions of those through whose Hands the
 Revenue circulated, till at length we were
 crushed beneath the Load we had laid upon our
 Selves. It may some Time or other perhaps be
 demonstrated, That out of the Threescore Mil-
 lions we expended, above half of it, either
 through Design, or Neglect, was Mispent, or
 Misapplied, or Remains to this Day unaccoun-
 ted for.

All Circumstances considered, it is amazing
 to conceive after what manner this poor Na-
 tion has suffered, and been abused; We were
 drawn at first into a War with little or no Rea-
 son;

son ; we have since disbursed above Threescore Millions, with little or no Advantage to our Selves, and without so much as proposing an Equivalent, if we had obtained the most Sanguine of our Wishes ; The Subsidy that was appropriated for our Expences, was raised out of but one Half of the Nation only, and even there it was unequally divided, while the other was Enriched, and Indemnified from Taxes, and out of the Threescore Millions that were raised, the major Part was Embezzled and Mispent ; But to compleat the whole, and least we might want any Thing to add a Weight to our Misfortunes, those very People who Impoverished themselves, and out of whose Pockets the Supplies were granted, without which our Constitution had been no more, must be treated as Enemies to the Government by the *Drones of the Nation*, and those who had lived upon the Spoils of their Labour.

It must be confessed indeed, that we had lately some *Great Men at the Helm* who refused to give into this Management, and whose Memory, notwithstanding the *Misrepresentations* they may lie under at present, will be ever grateful to us. The untainted Loyalty of the Duke of *Ormond*, his Concern for his Country, and that Greatness of Soul which is Hereditary to his Family, reflect even a Lustre on the Throne itself, when he is employed by his Prince, and render him the Darling of the People. His Ambition to serve the Queen and the Nation was always Laudable, without any sordid Views of private Interest and Advantage ; and so extensive is his Generosity, that her late Majesty was
sen-

sensible, when She was bestowing her Favours upon him, She was providing for Thousands of her People. His Person has been exposed in several Engagements, and his Estate as often Plundered by the Enemies of our Country; so that even to suspect him after this, to be in any *other Interest*, is a Contradiction to our Reason and our Senses.

And now I am upon this Subject, it would be Injustice not to mention the Services of my Lord *Bolingbroke*, whose unshaken Fidelity to his Queen, and Assistance and Advice against the Evil Counsel of some about Her, are sufficient to recommend him to those who have any Deference or Respect for the Memory of their *Sovereign*, and to render him as equally odious to such People, who have openly insulted Her when Dead, and trampled on her Ashes with Contempt. Besides, his Talents and great Capacity for Publick Business, and the most Important Councils of his Prince, are acknowledged even by his Enemies, and his Honour and Integrity are such, as Shine as bright as any other of his Endowments; For he was no more to be prevailed on to Countenance any Thing to the Detriment of the *Happy Settlement* we now Enjoy, than the Sun or Moon to be diverted from their Course, and he defies all the Malice and Persecution of his Enemies to prove it.

There are several others whose Names will be transmitted to Posterity with Advantage, but it is not to my present Purpose to enlarge upon their Characters; all honest Men are convinced, that little could be done by them for the Service of the Church and State, while that *Hypocrite*

in Business, that mighty Trifler of the Treasury, was at the Head of their Affairs, whose Merit is Tricking, and who justly is the Contempt of both Parties.

But as these Patriots are no more, so nothing can so much contribute to our Welfare and Prosperity at this Time, as the Prudent Choice of our Representatives in *Parliament*; and the *Elections* drawing near, it may not be improper, as I proposed, to give some Advice upon this Head, which if followed, as it ought to be, may be of the greatest Consequence to Us and our Posterity.

It is the Happiness of an *English-man*, That no Money can be raised, or Taxes laid upon him, but by his own Consent; His Representative in the *House of Commons* is his *Delegate* and *Trustee*, with whom he entrusts his Liberty and Property, and every Thing that is Dear to him; It is therefore of the greatest Moment to consider the Abilities and Integrity, and all the other necessary Qualifications of this his Representative.

Any Man who designs a Guardian for his Children, would pitch upon One whom he thought would Discharge his Trust with a good Conscience, and for the Advantage of his Family: How Careful then and Vigilant should we be, least we be Imposed on, when not only our own Family, but the whole Nation, depend upon our Choice?

All the Train of Woes and Miseries we have Experienc'd, are owing to our Selves, and have proceeded from the Choice of such to Represent us, who were either Ignorant of the State of

our Affairs, or Forfeited their Trust out of Interest: We have *Cankers and Moths in our very Bowels*, and we meet in Vain at an *Election*, if we do not make Choice of honest Gentlemen to Represent us, who mind their Country more than themselves, and prefer the Publick Interest, to their own.

The *present Parliament* is an undoubted Specimen of the Happy Consequences of a Wise Choice, and I may venture to propose it, as a Rule without Exception, that the same *House of Commons* re-chosen, would make us the happiest People upon Earth. I have no room to enter into a Detail of their Proceedings, it is sufficient, I think, that 'tis to them the Country is Indebted for the Diminution of the Land Tax, and his *Majesty* for the *Settlement of his Revenue*. Whatever Reproaches may be Cast upon single Members in relation to Trifles, or Humane Failures, from which no Man is free, perhaps there never was an *House of Commons*, since the Original of *Parliaments*, who had the Welfare of their Country more at Heart, or who have shown a more unfeigned Loyalty to their Sovereign; Their Actions are the best Interpreter, and the truest Evidence of their Designs; and so speedy were their Endeavours upon the *Queen's Demise*, for the Quiet of the Kingdom, and the Support and Grandeur of his *Majesty*, that he was scarce acquainted he was *King of Great Britain*, before his *faithful Commons* acquainted him that he had a *Revenue suitable to his Dignity*.

The Nature and Multiplicity of Affairs would have prevented their transacting the Business of
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the next Year, before the Six Months were expired, in which Time they were Dissolved by the *Succession Act*, or otherwise there had been no Occasion for another *House of Commons* this Season, or for putting the Country to the Fatigue and Charge of Convening themselves together in the middle of the Winter. His *Majesty* cannot be supposed to Dissolve them, because he is displeased, unless we can suppose he is *Angry at their Duty, and Allegiance, or the Settlement of the Civil List*. The Authors of such a Story are justly to be contemned; 'tis Misinterpreting the *Thanks* his *Majesty* has given them for their *Address*, and putting an ill and inconsistent Construction on his Royal Gratitude.

When I speak of the *Parliament*, I would be understood to mean the *Majority*, by whom every Thing is Voted and Transacted; and so Interwoven were the Interests of his *Majesty*, and the *present Parliament*, that whoever Endeavours to separate the one from the other, is an Enemy to both. I am sensible, there are those, who notwithstanding this, are free of their Reflections; but shall the *King* acknowledge the Fidelity of an *House of Commons*, and shall a Subject have the Insolence to Dispute it? Or shall the *King* or his Subjects be the Judge?

There is one Thing which would be Injustice to forget, that will make the *House of Commons* for ever Memorable, I mean the *Bill for Qualifying their own Members*. A Gentleman of an Estate is undoubtedly the only proper Representative of his Country, for a Man of a small Fortune is liable to the Temptation of a Bribe, or a Pension, and he who has no Estate in Land,

to Establish the Funds upon its Ruin. This then we may take as another constant Rule, to Vote for such a One whose Interest it is to preserve the Land from Payments and Subsidies, as well for his own, as for the Good of the Publick. But if his Estate has been acquired by the *Plunder and Oppression of the People*, the Case is altered; For this a Crime so very Black, that it strikes at the Root of our Constitution, unhinges all Government, and lays our Property in Common. Whosoever therefore has been guilty of it, if he has not unloaded himself, and restored, what in *plain English*, he has *stolen* from the Publick, he is without Question the most unfit to represent his Country, or be entrusted with a Charge that requires all the Honour and Fidelity in the World. Such a Person can come into a *new War*, or any other Scheme for our Destruction, for War is his Harvest, and the Plunder of his Country the Crop he would be Reaping.

Next to such Sort of Persons as these, we should be very Cautious of Chusing *Officers*, or any who have to do with the Army, for War is a *second Nature* to them, 'tis their *Element and Subsistence*, and few of them are *Amphibious*, or if they can *Live*, they can never *Thrive* out of their *Element*. Besides, a *Standing Army*, is of such ill Consequence, that whoever Votes for it, Votes for Slavery with a Witness; For those who defend us only out of Interest, will Swallow us too when they find it for their Interest to do it.

We have had lately an Instance in the Slaughter of *one of our Representatives*, what we must expect when the Power is lodged among the *Soldiery*:

diery : The *King's Palace* is a Place accounted Sacred, and not to be prophaned by Injustice or Ill Manners ; Yet all this, it seems is too little to prevent the Indignities and Affronts that have been offered there to several other Gentlemen of Condition, besides Mr. *Aldworth* : And if the Army are suffered to insult even private Gentlemen in this Manner, we may soon expect to see, if not prevented by this *Election*, the Rights of *Parliament*, and Courts of Justice destroyed, and our Constitution crumbled into a Thousand Pieces.

There is another Thing I would observe as worthy the Notice of the Nation, and their Representatives : We are now upon another Establishment than we were, and our *Act of Settlement* is in full Force. The Nature of our Monarchy is indeed the same, and the *King's Prerogative* as Extensive as in the Days of his *Predecessor* ; but least the Natives of our Nation should suffer by it, our *Legislature* provided Wisely against employing *Foreigners* in the *Ministry*. It stands to Reason that they cannot be acquainted with our Laws, or the Nature of our Government, That they have Councils and Interests distinct and different from ours ; and if they are once entrusted with Power and Authority, they'll soon become Formidable. But our *Legislature*, I say, have wisely provided against these Things, by the *Act of Settlement*, which is as unalterable as the *Articles of Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, or *Magna Charta* it self : We may as well part with all our Laws and Liberties at once, as with this ; and any one who consents to an Alteration of any Part
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of it, acts more like a *Foreigner*, than a Native of *England*, and ought never to Represent an *English* Body of Freeholders.

Above all, Let our Representatives be Members of the *Church of England*, not only in Name, but in Thing; Men who perfectly understand her Doctrine, and Discipline, who have a just and adequate Notion of *Episcopacy*, and of the *Dignity and Office* of the *Priesthood*. Without this, all other Qualifications are but Tinsel and Varnish; for if we lose our *Church*, we lose the better Part of our *Constitution*; Our Rights and Liberties will soon Vanish and follow it, and Universal Ruin will succeed. A *True Church-man* is throughly versed in every Branch of his Principles, and has all the other Qualifications we desire, inherent in him. He is a Man of the strictest Loyalty and Vertue, and has the Rights and Priviledges, as well as the Religion of our Nation at his Heart; he abhors the Thought of the Plunder of his Country, or the Miseries of a Standing Army; and in short, he Scorns to be Bought or Sold, to be Bribed or Marketted into a *New War*, or lay a farther Load upon his Neighbours.

Thus I have briefly recounted the Miseries we have suffered, and may expect again, unless we Endeavour to prevent them by the Choice of such to be our *Trustees* in the next *Parliament*, as will Answer the Intentions they are Chosen for. Let us follow the Rules I have laid down, and we cannot do amiss; it is in our own Power, we see, to make Choice of whom we please, and a Member of the *House of Commons*, without the aforementioned Qualifications, is a more proper
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Delegate for Theives and Pick-Pockets, than to Represent the Just, the Loyal, the Protestant, the Landed *Commons* of Great Britain.

Let me beseech therefore, *my Brethren and Fellow Subjects*, for your own Sakes, and the Sake of your Posterity, to consider these Things: Be not deluded or amused by the Noise of an Ill Peace, while you feel the Blessings of it, while your Sons are not Pressed into the Wars, nor your Daughters the Followers of the Camp. Weigh the Difference between those who have Loaded us with Taxes, and would still increase them, and those that have taken off a Part of so intolerable a Burden, and would Endeavour to lessen it for the future.

We should consider that without the Peace, our Nation at this Juncture had been undoubtedly the Havock of Armies, and the Field of Battle. The *King of France* on one Hand had Landed the Pretender, and on the other our *Guaranties the Dutch and the Troops of Hanover*, had been called to our Assistance; so that our *Peace-makers* merit justly your Thanks and Esteem, if upon no other Consideration, than this great *Deliverance*.

The Cant of a bad Peace is a Bait only to draw us into another Land War, which if we once Engage in, the Lord have Mercy on this Poor Nation. Our Taxes will sink us into Slavery, and we the *Ancient Inhabitants of England*, shall be devoured by Stock-Jobbers and Strangers, made a Prey to Infidels and Unbelievers, and all the Nations and People that surround us. We shall lose our very Name and our Nation, and every Thing that is Dear and Valuable to us. Our Condition in a little Time, will admit
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of neither Remedy nor Hope, we shall have nothing left, but to bewail the Loss of our Liberties and Estates, and with this stinging Aggravation, that they are *Irrecoverable*. Our Case will be neither better nor worse than this; for during the late War by the strangest *State Paradox* that ever was heard of, the more we gave, the more was required of us. And if we come again to 4 s. in the Pound upon Land, it is probable in a Year or two we must increase to *Eight*, and so by Degrees to *Sixteen*, till at length we must deliver all to the *Military Defenders* of our *Property*, and be content with a *Parish Maintenance*.

What I have said is Matter of Fact, and not of *Party*, and requires the Care and Vigilance of every Man, who has any Consideration or Love for his Country; I am not Pleading for *Party*, but for Justice, and Justice is Blind and knows no *Parties*. May the odious Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* for ever Cease, and be no more among us, and may we know no other Difference at present, but between those, who are for a *new War*, and for laying heavy and unequal Taxes on us; and those who in the true Sense of the Thing are for the Liberty of the Subject, for easing us in Taxes, and for transmitting our *Constitution* as entire to Posterity, as we received it from our Ancestors.

F I N I S.

